

SPECIAL POLITICAL NUMBER

The CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST



WASHINGTON, D. C.
AUGUST, 1922

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Next Month

Vol. I, No. 12

With which THE CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST Completes its First Year
Will Include

A Review of the Past Twelve Months

AND

"Shall United States Open the St. Lawrence River to Deep-Sea Traffic?"
(Full Pro and Con Discussion)

Other Features

The Congressional Digest

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The 67th Congress

Convened April 11, 1921, will expire March 3, 1923. First session adjourned November 23, 1921. Second session convened December 5, 1921, still in session. Third session will convene first Monday in December, 1922.

IN THE SENATE

96 members

59 Republicans 36 Democrats
1 Vacancy

PRESIDING OFFICER

Vice-President Calvin C. Coolidge of Mass., Republican

FLOOR LEADERS

Majority Leader Henry C. Lodge, Mass., Rep. *Minority Leader* Oscar W. Underwood, Ala., Dem.

PARTY WHIPS

Republican
Charles Curtis, Kan.

Democratic
Peter G. Geery, R. I.

IN THE HOUSE

435 Members

299 Republicans 129 Democrats
1 Socialist 6 Vacancies

PRESIDING OFFICER

Speaker Frederick H. Gillett of Mass., Republican

FLOOR LEADERS

Majority Leader Frank W. Mondell, Wyo., Rep. *Minority Leader* Claude Kitchin, N. C., Dem.

PARTY WHIPS

Republican
Harold Knutson, Minn.

Democratic
William A. Oldfield, Ark.

THE CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST

Vol. I

AUGUST, 1922

No. 11

A Perspective on Political Parties

Excerpts from Clymer's "Political Summary of the United States 1789-1920"*

FEDERALISTS—1789.

The Constitution was framed to bind the states into a confederation and its supporters were called Federalists, who formed themselves into a strong political party which had little opposition until 1800. The Federalists were charged as pro-English. The opposition, Anti-Federalists, who later adopted the title Republicans, inclined toward France during the French Revolution. In 1800 the Federalists met their first defeat in the election of Jefferson and thereafter passed into history.

REPUBLICANS—1800.

Formed in 1792. In power 1800. When Jefferson was invited to become Secretary of State in Washington's cabinet he was minister to France and he brought back with him radical views of the French Revolutionists (Republic). Jefferson then became the leader of the Anti-Federalists, or Republicans, now the Democratic party, and Hamilton leader of the Federalists. As opponents one called the other the British party, the other was labeled the French party. The South was Republican. The North Federalist. The Republicans remained a strong organization from 1800 to 1820.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY—1828.

This party began during the administration of John Quincy Adams, who had been elected on the old Republican ticket in 1824, and in 1828 the same Adams headed the new party ticket in opposition to Andrew Jackson, whose party assumed the name of Democratic party for the first time in American politics.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY—1828.

The partisans of this party were the successors of the adherents of the original Republican party, 1792, under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson. It adopted its new and present title in 1828. Andrew Jackson was the Democratic party's first president.

ANTI-MASONIC PARTY—1832.

This party grew out of the circumstances connected with the attempted disclosure of masonry by William Morgan in

1826. Those opposed to masonry called themselves freemen. In 1832 an Anti-Mason convention was held at Philadelphia and William Wirt of Virginia was nominated for president. This party had a brief existence.

WHIG PARTY—1836.

Organized in 1834, obtaining its followers from all other parties and from those who before had taken little interest in politics. The party had no platform, being one in name only. Its strength lay in its opposition to the administration of the times and it triumphed by electing William Henry Harrison, president, who was nearly 70 years of age. The party terminated in 1852.

The name "Whig" has a singular origin. In England, during the reigns of Charles II and James II, the non-conformists in church and state had a religious custom of drinking when at their devotional meetings, from which the word "Whig" is said to have been derived, and the term was eventually applied to the enemies of the throne.

The name Tory was given to supporters of the royal government and Church of England. The American Colonies began using these terms in 1770.

LIBERTY PARTY—1844.

Originated in 1844. It was anti-slavery. Its adherents came from the Whigs and Democrats. It contained many men of influence. It opposed the annexation of Texas. Nominated James G. Birney for president, who had freed his slaves in Kentucky and moved to Michigan. In 1848 it united with the Free-Soil party and supported Van Buren's candidacy.

FREE-SOIL PARTY—1848.

Founded in 1848. Was against the extension of slavery into the new territory acquired as a result of the Mexican War. A convention was held in Buffalo, August 9, 1848, where the party was organized. Van Buren and Charles F. Adams were nominated and they polled a large popular vote, but electoral votes were wanting. The Free-Soil party was the predecessor of the now Republican party.

AMERICAN OR KNOW-NOTHING PARTY—1856.

Originated in 1853, was distinctly Anti-American and short-lived. Its policies and plans were secret and when in-

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terrogated its supporters replied as instructed "I don't know." Its members desired the repeal of the naturalization laws and were religious radicals. Fillmore was the candidate in 1856.

REPUBLICAN PARTY—1856.

The present Republican party was launched in 1856. It was composed of the anti-slavery element in all parties. Its first candidate was John C. Fremont of California, but in the election the party suffered defeat and James Buchanan, Democrat, became president. In 1860, it elected its first candidate, Abraham Lincoln, and remained in power for six administrations, ending with James A. Garfield.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY—1860.

This was just another party seeking a more perfect and tranquil Union. In reality it was only an opposition party, but it showed considerable strength in the popular vote for its candidates. It appeared for the first and last time in this campaign.

GREENBACK OR INDEPENDENT PARTY—1876.

Organized May 18, 1876, at Indianapolis in the interest of depressed industry. The Republican and Democratic parties were charged with ruinous policies and failure to bring about relief to business. They demanded the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Specie-resumption act of January 14, 1875. The party was the outcome of the panic of 1873, but was not popular and polled a small vote. In the presidential election of 1880, the party exhibited more strength in the popular vote. Came back in a weakened condition in 1884, led by Benjamin F. Butler and there and then expended its force.

PROHIBITION PARTY—1876.

Made its first appearance in 1872 as the Temperance Party. The popular vote barely exceeded 5,000. In 1876, the name was changed to its present title, and in the ensuing election the vote doubled. In every presidential year since, the party has continued to present its candidates in spite of inconsiderable gains ardently determined to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors except for religious, medicinal and scientific purposes. In no instance has the popular vote been large, but the net result of the party's sectional activities, aided greatly by temporary prohibitory legislation induced by the Great War, is set forth in the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution, establishing National prohibition effective January 16, 1920.

UNION LABOR PARTY—1888.

Became a factor in American politics in 1888, and was the successor of the Greenback party. Its partisans reflected the discontent of the day. It sought a multiplicity of reforms and openly charged corruption in the courts and in legislative bodies. It aimed to relieve the general distress among the workers, but its policies were too reactionary, and in the election the popular vote fell below the previous record of the Greenbackers.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY—1892.

Originated in 1892, but being poorly organized it produced faint impression upon labor. Eight years later, 1900, it made a stronger bid for recognition as evidenced by the increase in the popular vote for its candidate. In this campaign, the party was confronted with a competitor within its own ranks, the Social Democratic party organized two years before by Debs.

PEOPLE'S OR POPULIST PARTY—1892.

This party marked another political upheaval. It claimed to be an improvement, a panacea for all political ills. It embodies an appeal to labor and an appeal to the farmer. Ap-

propriating the ineffective weapons of the Union Labor party, it assailed the combinations of wealth and held that the moneyed power was responsible for the hard times. It claimed that the farmers of the West and South were unduly burdened to the benefit of the East. From 1892 to 1908, the party struggled for existence, and then dropped by the wayside.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY—1896.

Grew out of a movement among the gold Democrats to oppose Bryan, the silver candidate. Its supporters mainly came out of the Cleveland ranks. Nominated a ticket which ran poorly in the election, as many of the conservatives of Democratic persuasion cast their lot with the Republicans. Both the gold and silver factions claimed to be the political descendants of Jefferson and Jackson, although their respective platforms contained little in common.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OR SOCIALISTS—1900.

Organized 1898. Inaugurated its campaign in 1900. In objective the same as the Socialist Labor Party, but launched in protest to the inharmony within the ranks of the other. It sought the overthrow of the social order and the existing economic status, substituting extreme reforms. It was a working class organization, and taught that the government should be the master control in everything.

PROGRESSIVE OR BULL MOOSE PARTY—1912.

First entered the political arena as a separate and distinct party in 1912. For a number of years the planks of its platform were in the making, a number of which in substance, being embodied in the platform of the Republican party as adopted in the convention of 1908. This convention received indifferent support of the conservatives and the successful candidate was claimed as a progressive nominee.

During the first two years of Taft's administration the platform in several particulars failed to support the Progressive principles in accordance with the Bull Moose idea. This aroused a wide feeling of political antagonism which had a marked effect upon the character of the congressional elections in the fall of 1910. All efforts to bring about coalition of the contending forces during the remainder of the administration were futile and if anything the bitterness was augmented. The crisis was reached in the convention of 1912, with hostility at its zenith, but the conservatives were successful in the nomination of Taft, while the progressives or insurgents, as they were called, returned whipped, but refusing to admit defeat. Several months elapsed, meanwhile a third party movement was unmistakably advancing which culminated in seeking Roosevelt as its leader. Therefore, on August 6, 1912, the Progressives assembled in Chicago to nominate a president and Roosevelt was the unanimous choice. In the election which followed the popular vote for the party's candidate exceeded that of the Republican nominee by over half a million, while the combined votes of the Progressives and Republicans outnumbered those of the Democratic candidate by over one million.

In 1916 the Democratic party was retained in power by the re-election of the president, vice president and both Houses of Congress.

In 1920, with eight years of administration coming to a close, popular feeling ran high toward a change of administration which resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Republican party. In addition to electing its presidential ticket by a tremendous majority, the Republican party increased its majority in the House, which went Republican in 1918, and recaptured the Senate.

Party Pledges of 1920

Direct Excerpts from the Party Platforms of 1920, the Last Formal Statement of the Attitude of Both Parties Toward Leading Issues of the Day

Republican

THE Republican party reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution of the United States, and to the guarantees of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained. It will resist all attempts to overthrow the foundations of the government or to weaken the force of its controlling principles and ideals, whether these attempts be made in the form of international policy or domestic agitation.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Republican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world.

The covenant signed by the President (Wilson) at Paris failed signally to accomplish this great purpose, and contains stipulations, not only intolerable for an independent people, but certain to produce the injustice, hostility, and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy founded upon definite moral and political principles, characterized by a clear understanding of and a firm adherence to our own rights, and unflinching respect for the rights of others.

BANKING AND CURRENCY.

As a matter of public policy, we urge all banks to give credit preference to essential industries.

The Federal Reserve system should be free from political influence, which is quite as important as its independence of domination by financial combinations.

TAXATION.

We advocate the issuance of a simplified form of income return; authorizing the Treasury Department to make changes in regulations effective only from the date of their approval; empowering the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the consent of the taxpayer, to make final and conclusive settlements of tax claims and assessments barring fraud, and the creation of a Tax Board consisting of at least three representatives of the tax-paying public and the heads of the principal divisions of the Bureau of Internal Revenue to act as a standing committee on the simplification of forms, procedure and law, and to make recommendations to the Congress.

NATIONAL ECONOMY.

We pledge ourselves to a carefully planned readjustment to a peace-time basis and to a policy of rigid economy, to the better co-ordination of departmental activities, to the elimination of unnecessary officials and employees, and to the raising of the standard of individual efficiency.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

We pledge ourselves to earnest and consistent attack upon the high cost of living by rigorous avoidance of further inflation in our government borrowing, by courageous and intelligent deflation of over-expanded credit and currency, by encouragement of heightened production of goods and services, by prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift and by revision of war imposed taxes unsuited to peace-time economy.

Democratic

THE Democratic party declares its adherence to the fundamental progressive principles of social, economic and industrial justice and advance, and purposes to resume the great work of translating these principles into effective laws, begun and carried far by the Democratic Administration and interrupted only when the war claimed all the national energies for the single task of victory.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Democratic party favors the League of Nations as the surest, if not the only, practicable means of maintaining the peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments.

We reject as utterly vain if not vicious, the Republican assumption that ratification of the Treaty and membership in the League of Nations would in any wise impair the integrity or independence of our country.

FINANCIAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

By the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act the old system, which bred panics, was replaced by a new system, which insured confidence. It was an indispensable factor in winning the war, and today it is the hope and inspiration of business.

After a year and a half of fighting in Europe, and despite another year and a half of Republican obstruction at home, the credit of the Government of the United States stands unimpaired, the Federal Reserve note is the unit of value throughout all the world, and the United States is the one great country in the world which maintains a free gold market.

TAX REVISION.

We advocate tax reform and a searching revision of the War Revenue Acts to fit peace conditions so that the wealth of the nation may not be withdrawn from productive enterprise and diverted to wasteful or non-productive expenditure.

We demand prompt action by the next Congress for a complete survey of existing taxes and their modification and simplification with a view to securing greater equity and justice in tax burden and improvement in administration.

PUBLIC ECONOMY.

The last Democratic Congress enacted legislation reducing the taxes from eight billions, designed to be raised, to six billions for the first year after the armistice, and to four billions thereafter and there the total is left undiminished by our political adversaries.

HIGH COST OF LIVING.

The high cost of living can only be remedied by increased production, strict governmental economy and a relentless pursuit of those who take advantage of post-war conditions and are demanding and receiving outrageous profits.

We pledge the Democratic party to a policy of strict economy in government expenditures, and to the enactment and enforcement of such legislation as may be required to bring profiteers before the bar of criminal justice.

THE TARIFF.

We reaffirm the traditional policy of the Democratic party in favor of a tariff for revenue only and we confirm the policy of basing tariff revisions upon the intelligent research of

Republican

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND TARIFF.

The Republican party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture and industry.

REORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND BUREAUS.

We advocate a thorough investigation of the present organization of the Federal departments and bureaus, with a view to securing consolidation, a more business-like distribution of functions, the elimination of duplication, delays and overlapping of work, and the establishment of an up-to-date and efficient administrative organization.

AGRICULTURE.

The crux of the present agricultural condition lies in prices, labor and credit. The Republican party believes that this condition can be improved by: practical and adequate farm representation in the appointment of government officials and commissions; the right to form co-operative associations for marketing their products, and protection against discrimination; the scientific study of agricultural prices and farm production costs, at home and abroad, with a view to reducing the frequency of abnormal fluctuations; the uncensored publication of such reports; the authorization of associations for the extension of personal credit; a national inquiry on the co-ordination of rail, water and motor transportation with adequate facilities for receiving, handling and marketing food; the encouragement of our export trade; an end to unnecessary price-fixing and ill-considered efforts arbitrarily to reduce prices of farm products which invariably result to the disadvantage of both producer and consumer; and the encouragement of the production and importation of fertilizing material and of its extensive use.

The Federal Farm Loan Act should be so administered as to facilitate the acquisition of farm land by those desiring to become owners and proprietors and thus minimize the evils of farm tenantry, and to furnish such long time credits as farmers may need to finance adequately their larger and long time production operations.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employers and employees, and realizing the true ends of industrial justice.

The strike or the lockout, as a means of settling industrial disputes, inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify government initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences.

We deny the right to strike against the government; but the rights and interest of all government employees must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals.

In public utilities we favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to render a decision to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service necessary to the lives, health and welfare of the people. The decisions of the tribunals should be morally but not legally binding, and an informed public sentiment be relied on to secure their acceptance. The tribunals, however, should refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the purpose of investigation as long as the public service be interrupted. For public utilities we favor the type of tribunal provided for in the Transportation Act of 1920.

In private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions

Democratic

a non-partisan commission, rather than upon the demands of selfish interests, temporarily held in abeyance.

BUDGET.

In the interest of economy and good administration, we favor the creation of an effective budget system that will function in accord with the principles of the Constitution. The reform should reach both the executive and legislative aspects of the question. The supervision and preparation of the budget should be vested in the Secretary of the Treasury as the representative of the President. The budget, as such, should not be increased by the Congress except by a two-thirds vote, each House, however, being free to exercise its constitutional privilege of making appropriations through independent bills. The appropriation bills should be considered by single Committees of the House and Senate. The audit system should be consolidated and its powers expanded so as to pass upon the wisdom of as well as the authority for, expenditures.

SENATE RULES.

We favor such alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the nation's legislative business.

AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS.

We pledge prompt and consistent support of sound and effective measures to sustain, amplify and perfect the Rural Credits Statutes and thus to check and reduce the growth and course of farm tenancy.

We favor such legislation as will confirm to the primary producers of the nation the right of collective bargaining and the right of cooperative handling and marketing of the products of the workshop and the farm and such legislation as will facilitate the exportation of our farm products.

We favor comprehensive studies of farm production costs and the uncensored publication of facts in such studies.

LABOR AND INDUSTRY.

Labor, as well as capital, is entitled to adequate compensation. Each has the indefeasible right of organization, of collective bargaining and of speaking through representatives of their own selection. Neither class, however, should at any time nor in any circumstances take action that will put in jeopardy the public welfare. Resort to strikes and lock-outs which endanger the health or lives of the people is an unsatisfactory device for determining disputes, and the Democratic party pledges itself to contrive, if possible, and put into effective operation a fair and comprehensive method of composing differences of this nature.

In private industrial disputes, we are opposed to compulsory arbitration as a method plausible in theory but a failure in fact. With respect to government service, we hold distinctly that the rights of the people are paramount to the right to strike. However, we profess scrupulous regard for the conditions of public employment and pledge the Democratic party to instant inquiry into the pay of Government employees and equally speedy regulations designed to bring salaries to a just and proper level.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

We endorse the proposed 19th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States granting equal suffrage to women.

WELFARE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

We urge cooperation with the States for the protection of child life through infancy and maternity care; in the prohibition of child labor and by adequate appropriations for the Children's Bureau and the Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

Republican

and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration, supplemented by that full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The Government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commissions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and of investigation of disputed issues.

LYNCHING.

We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country which continues to be a terrible blot on our American civilization.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican party.

CHILD LABOR.

The Republican party stands for a Federal Child Labor law and for its rigid enforcement.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

The principle of equal pay for equal service should be applied throughout all branches of the Federal government in which women are employed.

Federal aid for vocational training should take into consideration the special aptitudes and needs of women workers.

We demand Federal legislation to limit the hours of employment of women engaged in intensive industry the product of which enters into inter-state commerce.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH.

We endorse the principle of Federal aid to the States for the purposes of vocational and agricultural training.

We advocate a greater centralization of the Federal functions, and in addition urge the better co-ordination of the work of the Federal, State and local health agencies.

THE SERVICE MEN.

We pledge ourselves to discharge to the fullest the obligations which a grateful nation justly should fulfill, in appreciation of the services rendered by its defenders on sea and on land.

The amounts already applied and authorized for the fiscal year 1920-1921 for this purpose reached the stupendous sum of \$1,180,571,893.

PUBLIC ROADS AND HIGHWAYS.

We favor liberal appropriations in co-operation with the States for the construction of highways, which will bring about a reduction in transportation costs, better marketing of farm products, improvement in rural postal delivery, as well as meet the needs of military defense.

MERCHANT MARINE.

The national defense and our foreign commerce require a merchant marine of the best type of modern ship flying the American flag, manned by American seamen, owned by private capital, and operated by private energy.

WATERWAYS.

We declare it to be our policy to encourage and develop water transportation service and facilities in connection with the commerce of the United States.

CIVIL SERVICE.

We renew our repeated declaration that the civil service law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

RECLAMATION.

We favor a fixed and comprehensive policy of reclamation to increase national wealth and production.

Democratic

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

We advocate full representation of women on all commissions dealing with women's work or women's interests and a reclassification of the Federal Civil Service free from discrimination on the ground of sex; a continuance of appropriations for education in sex hygiene; Federal legislation which shall insure that American women residents in the United States, but married to aliens, shall retain their American citizenship and that the same process of naturalization shall be required for women as for men.

EDUCATION.

Co-operative Federal assistance to the States is immediately required for the removal of illiteracy, for the increase of teachers' salaries and instruction in citizenship for both native and foreign-born; increased appropriation for vocational training in home economics, re-establishment of joint Federal and State employment service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women.

DISABLED SOLDIERS.

We pledge our party to the enactment of soldier settlements and home aid legislation which will afford to the men who fought for America the opportunity to become land and home owners under conditions affording genuine Government assistance unencumbered by needless difficulties of red tape or advanced financial investment.

IMPROVED HIGHWAYS.

We favor a continuance of the present Federal aid plan under existing Federal and State agencies amended so as to include as one of the elements in determining the ratio in which the several states shall be entitled to share in the fund, the area of any public lands therein.

MERCHANT MARINE.

We pledge the policy of our party to the continued growth of our merchant marine under proper legislation, so that American products will be carried to all ports of the world by vessels built in American yards, flying the American flag.

PORT FACILITIES.

We pledge our party to stand for equality of rates, both import and export, for the ports of the country, to the end that there may be adequate and fair facilities and rates for the mobilization of the products of the country offered for shipment.

INLAND WATERWAYS.

We pledge ourselves to the further development of adequate transportation facilities on our rivers and to the further improvement of our inland waterways; and we recognize the importance of connecting the Great Lakes with the sea by the way of the Mississippi River and its tributaries as well as by the St. Lawrence River. We favor an enterprising Foreign Trade Policy with all nations, and in this connection we favor the full utilization of all Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific Ports, and an equitable distribution of shipping facilities between the various ports.

We therefore favor a liberal and comprehensive policy for development and utilization of our harbors and interior waterways.

RECLAMATION OF ARID LANDS.

By wise legislation we have transformed the Government reclamation projects to a condition of demonstrated success.

We favor ample appropriations for the continuation and extension of this great work of home-building and internal improvement.

THE CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST

Republican

REGULATION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

We approve in general the existing Federal legislation against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade, but since the known certainty of a law is the safety of all, we advocate such amendment as will provide American business men with better means of determining in advance whether a proposed combination is or is not unlawful.

There should be no persecution of honest business, but to the extent that circumstances warrant we pledge ourselves to strengthen the law against unfair practices.

We pledge the party to an immediate resumption of trade relations with every nation with which we are at peace.

MANDATE FOR ARMENIA.

We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia and stand ready to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

HAWAII.

For Hawaii we recommend Federal assistance in Americanizing and educating their greatly disproportionate foreign population; home rule; and the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian race.

IMMIGRATION.

The immigration policy of the United States should be such as to insure that the number of foreigners in the country at any time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable rapidity, and to favor immigrants whose standards are similar to ours. The selective tests that are at present applied should be improved. The existing policy of the United States for the practical exclusion of Asiatic immigrants is sound, and should be maintained.

NATURALIZATION.

There is urgent need of improvement in our naturalization law. We advocate, in addition, the independent naturalization of married women. An American woman, resident in the United States, should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien.

FREE SPEECH AND ALIEN AGITATION.

We demand that every American citizen shall enjoy the ancient and constitutional right of free speech, free press and free assembly and the no less sacred right of the qualified voter to be represented by his duly chosen representatives; but no man may advocate resistance to the law, and no man may advocate violent overthrow of the government.

CONCLUSION.

Pointing to its history and relying on its fundamental principles, we declare that the Republican party has the genius, courage and constructive ability to end executive usurpation and restore constitutional government; to fulfill our world obligations without sacrificing our national standards of education, health and general welfare; to re-establish a peace-time administration and to substitute economy and efficiency for extravagance and chaos; to restore and maintain the national credit; to reform unequal and burdensome taxes; to free business from arbitrary and unnecessary official control; to suppress disloyalty without the denial of justice; to repel the arrogant challenge of any class and to maintain a government of all the people as contrasted with government for some of the people, and finally to allay unrest, suspicion and strife, and to secure the co-operation and unity of all citizens in the solution of the complex problems of the day; to the end that our country, happy and prosperous, proud of its past, sure of itself and of its institutions, may look forward with confidence to the future.

Democratic

THE TRADE COMMISSION.

The Democratic party heartily endorses the creation and work of the Federal Trade Commission in establishing a fair field for competitive business, free from restraints of trade and monopoly, and recommends amplification of the statutes governing its activities so as to grant it authority to prevent the unfair use of patents in restraint of trade.

LIVE STOCK MARKETS.

We favor the enactment of legislation for the supervision of live stock markets by the national Government.

PETROLEUM.

We urge such action, legislative and executive, as may secure to American citizens the same rights in the acquirement of mining rights in foreign countries as are enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of any other nation.

NEW NATIONS.

The Democratic party expresses its active sympathy with the people of China, Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, Persia, and others who have recently established representative government and who are striving to develop the institutions of true Democracy.

IRELAND.

Within the limitations of international comity and usage, this Convention repeats the several previous expressions of the sympathy of the Democratic party of the United States for the aspirations of Ireland for self government.

ARMENIA.

We express our deep and earnest sympathy for the unfortunate people of Armenia, and we believe that our government, consistent with its constitution and principles, should render every possible and proper aid to them in their efforts to establish and maintain a government of their own.

THE PHILIPPINES.

We favor the granting of independence without unnecessary delay to the 10,500,000 inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

HAWAII.

We favor a liberal policy of homesteading public lands in Hawaii to promote a larger middle-class citizen population, with equal rights to all citizens.

PORTO RICO.

We favor granting to the people of Porto Rico the traditional territorial form of government, with a view to ultimate statehood, accorded to all territories of the United States since the beginning of our government.

ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS.

The policy of the United States with reference to the non-admission of Asiatic Immigrants is a true expression of the judgment of our people.

FREE SPEECH AND PRESS.

We reaffirm our respect for the great principles of free speech and a free press, but assert as an indisputable proposition that they afford no toleration of enemy propaganda or the advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the state or nation by force or violence.

CONCLUSION.

Believing that we have kept the Democratic faith and resting our claims to the confidence of the people not upon grandiose promises, but upon the solid performances of our party, we submit our record to the nation's consideration and ask that the pledges of this platform be appraised in the light of that record.

Political Issues of 1922 Congressional Campaign

Elections to be held November 7, 1922

By a Member of the Senate and House Press Galleries

INASMUCH as the elections this year are to be what are known as "off-year" elections, since the Presidency is not involved, there will be few national issues in the campaign in which 435 members of the House and 34 members of the Senate are to be elected. Matters that are issues in some states will not be in others and thus while the Republicans and Democrats in one state will fight out their contest on, for instance, the prohibition issue, the same question will not figure in the campaign of a neighboring state.

In a general way, America's foreign policy, economy, tariff, internal taxation, and the ship subsidy question will be put to the fore in every state in the Union, but there are a host of minor issues which, although they will be of local interest, may play an even more important part in some state campaigns than any of the questions mentioned above. Thus, in Michigan, the seating of Senator Truman A. Newberry by the Senate will be of paramount importance in the campaign while in many other states Mr. Newberry's right to his place in the Senate will be mentioned only as a side issue and in some states it will not be taken up at all.

Among these minor but not necessarily unimportant issues are the bonus for soldiers, the administration's handling of the problems of the farmers, Mexico, the league of nations, the separate treaty of peace with Germany, the Four-Power Treaty, the anti-lynching bill, the maternity bill and many others.

Because the national administration is Republican, the Democrats will this year assume the offensive in the campaign fight while the Republicans will be on the defensive. Thus while the Democrats see flaws in President Harding's administration and while they will be critical of nearly every act of the overwhelmingly Republican Congress, the Republicans will insist that President Harding's administration has been a success in every way and that Congress has functioned successfully and properly for the best interests of all the people. However, there have been innumerable cases where Republican Congressmen and Senators have refused to stand by their party and their administration on certain questions and on these questions, the men who bolted their party in Congress will not stand by it in the elections. The same holds true for the Democrats, for instance on the Four-Power treaty and the tariff bill, where some of them voted with the Republicans. Naturally these Democrats cannot attack the Republicans on these issues.

Having the offensive, the Democrats will direct their principal attack on the tariff, taxation and shipping measures. They will insist that the pending tariff bill, which the Republicans are pledged to enact into law, is an iniquitous measure and will raise the cost of living to all the people of the United States. The bill, the Democrats will say, will enable unscrupulous manufacturers in the United States to earn exorbitant profits on their products and will, in many cases, give to certain American interests a monopoly which will enable them to extract profits without end from the people. Further than this, the Democrats will insist that since the

United States has such a large trade balance in the world at this time, it is unscientific to write a protective tariff measure, inasmuch as the tariff will keep out foreign made goods and thereby prevent debtor nations from paying the United States, this situation in turn keeping exchange down and generally tending to demoralize the finances of the world.

Replying to this, the Republicans will say that the interests of the American workingman, the highest paid in the world, demand that a protective tariff be levied so that foreign made goods produced by cheap labor shall not be brought promiscuously into the United States, thereby putting American factories out of business and throwing the workingman out of work. Also the Republicans will declare that countries like Germany are ready to institute dumping campaigns in which they will send into this country millions of dollars worth of cheap and imitation products, thereby hurting American industry. In addition to this, the Republicans will insist that without a protective tariff, foreign manufacturers will in many instances be able to obtain a monopolistic control of certain markets which, when obtained, will be used to squeeze the dollars out of the pocket of the American consumer. So much for the tariff. It is an old issue and has been fought out from time immemorial by the Republicans and Democrats.

Next to the tariff, the Shipping bill will be the main target for the Democratic onslaught on the Republicans. By this bill, which is pending in Congress and which President Harding has insisted shall be enacted into law, the Democrats assert that money will be taken out of the pockets of the taxpayers to pay tribute and add to the profits of the shipping magnates of the nation. Better that the United States should have no merchant marine, say the Democrats, than that the United States government should be called to pay subsidies to this particular branch of commerce. Why not, they ask, pay subsidies to railroads, to coal mines, and to every other branch of industry and commerce as well as to shipping? The principle of giving subsidies to a favored class is abhorrent to the American people and American institutions, say the Democrats.

Republicans will point out that the United States, during the war, involuntarily became the owner of an enormous fleet of ships which cannot now be sold because there is no market for them. To protect the billions of dollars that have gone into the upbuilding of this fleet, they will insist that it is necessary for the United States government to promote its shipping interests. This can only be done by subsidies, they say, because the United States has a seamen's law which makes the cost of operation of American ships much higher than the cost of operating any other ships in the world. They will point out, furthermore, that there is a provision in the shipping bill to the effect that when the profits of ship owners reach a certain percentage on their investment, the giving of subsidies shall automatically cease.

Democrats will assail the Republicans for having passed a taxation law that took off some of the higher surtaxes in the

THE CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST

income tax schedule and which eliminated the excess profits taxes. This, they will assert, tends to put the burden of taxation more on the poor man than the rich.

Replying to this, the Republicans will say their taxation actions were necessary for the benefit of the business of the country which, at the time of the passage of the law had reached such a low level that the higher schedules of the income tax and the excess profits taxes were not bringing any return whatever.

As a counter-offensive measure, Republicans will point to the achievements of the Harding administration. In particular will the Conference on Limitation of Armaments and Pacific and Far Eastern Questions be held up as one of the most notable accomplishments for international peace ever consummated. They will say the world was rapidly drifting to war when the conference was called and that the United States was in danger of a war with Japan and had sent the main strength of its navy to the Pacific coast with the idea that a clash with Japan was imminent. The President and Secretary Hughes, they will assert, called the Washington conference, got the leading nations of the world together around a conference table and then proceeded amicably to discuss and settle questions that might have led to war were they permitted to remain unsettled. The various treaties devised by the conference will be held by the Republicans to have been necessary to the peace of the world.

Some of the Democrats will not attack this conference but most of them will do so. Not only this, but they will attack America's whole foreign policy under the Harding administration. They will assert that the Four-Power Treaty was an alliance of four nations for military control of the Pacific, a policy foreign to the best traditions of American history. They will attack the failure of the administration to take cognizance of the acts of the League of Nations and declare that the making of a separate peace treaty with Germany by the United States was an act of gratuitous ingratitude on the part of the United States toward the nations with which she was associated in the war. The failure of the United States to be represented on the Reparations Commission will be held out by the Democrats to be a blow to American business and a free concession to foreign industries.

As another part of their counter-offensive, the Republicans will point out that they caused the enactment of the budget law and instituted a series of drastic economies in the administration of the government that resulted in the saving of millions to the taxpayers. President Harding, Charles G. Dawes and Congress effectively cooperated to bring about these economies, the Republicans will say.

Democrats have already indicated that they will dispute the Republican economy figures and will insist that the cost of running the government has been increased several-fold since 1915 and 1916, which were the latest years comparable to the

present time. Senator Overman of North Carolina recently made a speech in the Senate indicating the Democratic disbelief in the figures of the Republicans.

Prohibition will be an issue in several states. It so happens that the Democrats will be as a rule on the side of the wets and the Republicans on the side of the dries, but both parties will take their stand for prohibition as a national issue. Governor Edwards of New Jersey, certain of the Democratic nomination for Senator in his state, is a known wet and will campaign for light wines and beer while Senator Frelinghuysen, the probable Republican nominee, will favor the dry side. In Ohio, Senator Pomerene, the certain Democratic nominee for the Senate, will advocate light wines and beer while Representative Fess, the probable Republican nominee, is a dry. Missouri and one or two other states may also have the wet and dry issue before them.

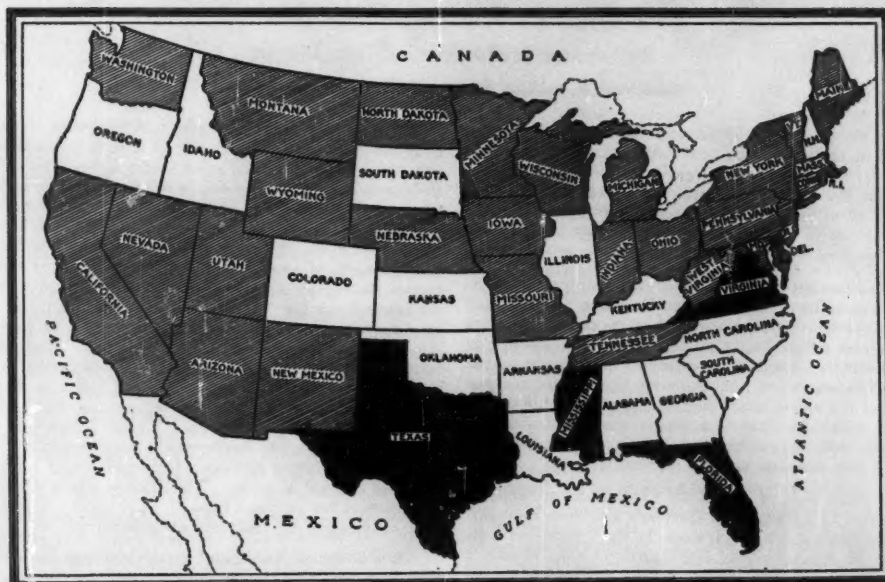
The administration's Mexican policy will be the subject of attack in the border states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California, all of which have Senatorial elections this year. Secretary of State Hughes has consistently insisted that prior to American recognition of the Obregon government proper guarantees shall be given of the safety of lives and property of foreigners in Mexico while the Mexicans having insisted on recognition first and say they will give the guarantees later. Some will assert that the United States ought at once recognize President Obregon's government while others will assert that the administration has been entirely too lenient in its dealings with the Mexican government.

Efforts of the Republicans to cause enactment of an anti-lynching bill will be the subject for severe Democratic attacks in Southern and border states, while in the northern states, where there is a large negro vote, the Republicans will count these efforts as one of the successes of their administration.

In practically every congressional district in the Union, the bonus will be an issue. War veterans will lead an attack on candidates who have voted against or opposed the bonus and will favor candidates who have or will be for the bonus. In states where candidates have voted against the measure, the bonus will be almost a paramount issue for the war veterans are well organized and out to retaliate against those who voted against recompensing them for their efforts in the war.

Farmers of the country will be told that the Republicans, working through the non-partisan farm blocs in the House and Senate, have enacted more legislation for their benefit in two years than the Democrats did in eight. The War Finance Corporation act, the grain futures law, and Secretary of Commerce Hoover's handling of various farm crises will be cited by the Republicans to prove their contentions. Democrats will say this aid came too late in many instances and was not entirely adequate.

Senatorial Election Map of the United States



White spaces indicate states in which there is no Senatorial election this year. Black spaces indicate states which are sure to elect Democratic Senators. Cross lined spaces indicate states that will be contested by Republican and Democratic Senatorial candidates.

Primaries and Conventions, 1922, for Nomination of Members of The House of Representatives in all States, and U. S. Senators as listed

Republican

STATE	SENATORS	STATUS	DATE OF PRIMARIES 1922
Calif.	Hiram W. Johnson		Aug. 29
Conn.	George P. McLean		Sept.*
Del.	T. Coleman duPont		Aug. 22
Ind.	Harry S. New	Defeated	May 2
Iowa	Chas. A. Rawson	Retired	June 5
Maine	Frederick Hale	Renominated	June 19
Mass.	Henry Cabot Lodge		Sept. 12
Md.	Joseph I. France		Sept.*
Mich.	Charles E. Townsend	Renominated	Sept. 12
Minn.	Frank B. Kellogg		June 19
N. Dak.	Porter J. McCumber	Defeated	June 28
N. J.	Jos. S. Frelinghuysen		Sept. 26
N. Y.	William M. Calder		Sept. 19
Penna.	Wm. E. Crow	Retired	May 16
Vt.	Geo. Wharton Pepper	Renominated	May 16
Wash.	Miles Poindexter		Sept. 12
W. Va.	Howard Sutherland	Renominated	Aug. 1
Wisc.	Robert M. LaFollette		Sept. 5

Democrat

STATE	SENATORS	STATUS	DATE OF PRIMARIES 1922
Ariz.	Henry F. Ashurst		Sept. 12
Fla.	Park Trammell	Renominated	June 6
Miss.	John Sharp Williams		Aug. 15
Mo.	James A. Reed		Aug. 1
Mon.	Henry L. Myers		Aug. 29
Nebr.	Gilbert M. Hitchcock	Renominated	July 18
Nev.	Key Pittman		Sept. 5
N. Mex.	Andrieus A. Jones		Sept.*
Ohio	Atlee Pomerene		Aug. 8
R. I.	Peter C. Gerry		Sept.*
Tenn.	Kenneth McKellar		Aug. 3
Tex.	Chas. A. Culberson	Defeated	July 22 (1st)
Utah	William H. King		Aug. 26 (2d)
Va.	Claude A. Swanson	Renominated	July 14 (Rep.)
Wyo.	John B. Kendrick		Aug. 11 (Dem.)
			Aug. 1
			Aug. 22

Dates of Primaries or Conventions not listed above:

STATE	DATE (1922)	STATE	DATE (1922)
Alabama	Aug. 8	Louisiana	Sept. 12
Arkansas	Aug. 8	North Carolina	June 3
Colorado	Sept. 12	New Hampshire	Sept. 5
Georgia	Sept. 13	Oklahoma	Aug. 1
Idaho	Aug. 22	Oregon	May 19
Illinois	Apr. 11	South Carolina	Aug. 29 (1st)
Kansas	Aug. 1	South Dakota	Sept. 12 (2d)
Kentucky	Aug. 5		Mar. 28

*Conventions.

Achievements of the Republican Party

During Present Administration

By Senator Medill McCormick, Illinois

Chairman, Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee

THE record of the Republican majority in Congress and of the Republican administration, of economic recovery in America, of retrenchment in public expenditure, and of reduced taxation, must be measured by the task bequeathed to us by the Wilson Democracy and by the economic condition of the States of Asia, Europe, and in the Americas south of the Rio Grande.

The American national debt today amounts to some twenty-two billion dollars. The loans to European peoples, some of them our associates in the war, and others component parts of the Empires which fought us during the war, amount to \$11,000,000,000. There were expended on account of the Railroad Administration, the Shipping Board, and for the construction and supply of artillery and aircraft, \$11,000,000,000. For which the American people received during the war less than 200 cannon, less than 200 aircraft, one shipping board built ship, and one national railroad wreck.

For the years 1921 and 1922 the Democratic administration submitted to a Republican Congress, estimates aggregating \$11,600,000,000, which was so cut by the Republican Congress that the appropriations aggregated \$9,200,000,000, a saving of nearly two and one-half billion dollars for a two-year period.

Republican estimates and appropriations for the fiscal year just closed, and for the current year, average about \$3,800,000,000, as compared with an average of \$5,875,000,000 which the Democratic administration sought to have expended in 1920 and 1921. Last year's actual expenditures, indeed, were over \$300,000,000 less than the sum appropriated.

Since Warren Harding took office we have written on the statute books, the Budget Act, under which this drastic retrenchment has been made; under which expenditures were reduced by a billion dollars a year; under which taxes have been reduced by about a billion dollars a year, or twenty-five per cent; under which it has been possible to repeal the atrociously unequal and unscientific Democratic Revenue Act, and to substitute, therefor, another which wipes off the statute books a score or more of nuisance taxes, which fell upon nearly everything used by father, mother, sister and sonny, which has fixed the sum of annual national taxation at about a third per capita as much as that levied in Great Britain; which has reduced by a third the sum of annual tax of the family man with an income \$5,000 a year or less; which has moderately and equitably reduced the surtaxes on incomes until, under all registers, they are lower than those paid in Great Britain.

Since Warren Harding took office, through the repeal of taxation by Congress, and through the reduction of rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission, freight charges upon the American people have been reduced by over five hundred millions a year.

Since Warren Harding took office, Liberty Bonds which sold at 85 cents for the dollar, have gone to par or above par. The total value of the bonds in the hands of the people has been restored to the amount of \$3,000,000,000.

There are few Americans who have forgotten the collapse in agricultural prices, due in part at least to the inconsiderate and immoderate contraction of credit insisted upon by the Wilson Administration, which in its effect made no distinction between the production of luxuries and that of necessities. The Kellogg Agriculture Credits Act, which rehabilitated the machinery of the War Finance Corporation, kept hundreds and hundreds of small banks out of the hands of receivers; carried the farmer and the stockman over the crisis; restored the interior market for the American manufacturer and so gave employment to thousands of workmen who were made idle when the farmers could no longer buy. Consider that before the machinery of the Finance Corporation could be brought to bear upon the crisis, corn had fallen to 20 and 30 cents on the siding, whereas it is selling now from 45 to 50 cents at country elevator points. Cotton which sold on the farm for about 8 cents is now worth approximately 19 cents; wool on the western ranches which sold for as little as 17 cents has doubled in value. The price of wheat at the country elevators has increased from 30 to 35 cents a bushel. The price of livestock has recovered correspondingly.

While Congress has struggled with the complex and seemingly unending task of curtailing expenditure, of revising and reducing taxation, it has shown intelligent concern for the domestic progress of the American people and their essential well being. It has written on the statute books, the Maternity Act. It has made provision for the continued extension of the hard roads system. It has closed the doors to hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of foreign laborers, who would have come here under the pressure of civil disorder and light paper money, now general in Europe, to contest with the unemployed in America for the jobs thrown open by returning prosperity.

Military and Naval expenditure has been drastically reduced, and will be further reduced, because under the terms of the Washington Treaties the great Maritime and Pacific Powers solemnly undertake to respect one another's rights in the territories of Eastern Asia, and to limit armament at sea under such terms that American Naval Forces for the first time in history are established as equal to those of the British Empire, and as definitely superior to those of Japan. This has been accomplished not through a costly and war provoking race in the building of battle fleets but by an accord among the great Powers under the leadership of the President of the United States. The Washington Treaties have removed very far from the United States all danger of war.

The other agricultural countries continue prostrate. While two million idle hands have found their way back to employment in American industry during the last four months, conditions of production and employment in the great industrial States of northern Europe are worse rather than better.

While our Government has paid off a billion of the debt, reduced expenditures by a billion a year and taxes by as much, other governments have been piling up debts upon debts, deficits upon deficits, taxes upon taxes.

America alone among the great countries of the world is on the high road to normalcy and to prosperity.

Failures of the Republican Party During Present Administration

By Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Montana

Chairman, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

HOW far has the present administration met the expectations which were excited by the very profuse promises upon which it came into power? How well has it demonstrated its capacity to deal with the problems that confront the country that it should be continued in control of its affairs? It is asserted in its behalf that economy in public expenditure has been observed and enforced, and its spokesmen point with exultation to reduced appropriations and the much vaunted budget law. It is reasonably to be expected that appropriations necessary, during and immediately following a great war will be materially reduced four years after its close. The budget plan is unquestionably an improvement in our fiscal system, but it is not always recognized, in view of its much advertised merits, that the fixed charges of the government and the appropriations for the support of the army and the navy consume about ninety per cent of the enormous sums exacted as federal taxes, leaving little if any more than ten per cent of all the expenditures of the government open to curtailment through the operation of the budget law.

What has the Republican administration done to compose the differences that keep Europe continuously on the verge of war? It has studiously kept aloof, fearful of offending those who parrot-like repeat the admonitions of the fathers against interfering in the affairs of Europe, regardless of the fact that if their counsel is applicable at all, we disregarded it when we interfered in 1917. Thus our material interests are allowed to go to ruin while we repudiate the promises made to the brave four million men who offered, many of whom gave, their lives that war should be no more. In this lies the tragic failure of the present administration. It denounced the plan of President Wilson for gathering and assuring the fruits of the war. What has it offered in its stead? When President Harding was a candidate he proposed an Association of Nations in lieu of the League of Nations. None now so poor as to do it reverence. Europe is still an armed camp and France is threatening again to embroil the world by the invasion of the Ruhr valley, her chauvinists backed by an army of 800,000 men, the outstanding obstacle to the disarmament of Europe. What has the administration done to accomplish disarmament? Driven reluctantly to it by Senator Borah, and generously supported by Democratic senators, it did assemble the Arms Conference to forestall a war in the Orient, and generally to arrest competition in naval armament. But what has it done to prevent a recurrence of war in Europe, unfortunately continuously imminent, while trouble in the Pacific was more or less problematical? Nothing. Absolutely nothing. It is the land forces of Europe that are breaking the back of the world and that keep the prospect of war constantly before us.

The administration has not only done nothing to stabilize conditions in Europe or to remove the menace of a recurrence of a general war there, but it has no plan or purpose toward either end. It wavers on the soldier's adjusted compensation bill, eager to secure the votes of its advocates but fearful of offending those who provide funds to carry elections. Its record on that measure is paralleled by its course with respect to two others deemed so important by the President as to have had his official commendation, the one in a general and the other in a special message. In the address of the Presi-

dent on the assembling of Congress, it was appealed to for legislation to relieve the distressed condition of the railroads, objects of his solicitous care. After due incubation a bill was reported looking to that end, but when, after debate was well under way, there were disclosed the plans of Democratic members, supported by the distressingly small remnant of so-called Progressive Republican members, to affix to it amendments repealing objectionable features of the Esch-Cummins law and affording some relief from the intolerably exorbitant freight rates, it was hurriedly taken off the floor, leaving the railroads to struggle along as the ordinary individual must, as best he can.

The Ship Subsidy Bill, in behalf of which the President addressed Congress on February 28 last, against which the House balked, still awaits the disposition of the tariff bill in the Senate, with no chance of consideration at the current session, notwithstanding the pleading of the Executive, and faces a divided party whenever it is reached.

A protective tariff still remains the one cardinal doctrine of the Republican party, but it seems impotent to give it effect in the law, moved as it is to meet the outrageous demands of those who profit by it and deterred by the dread of an outraged public which must bear the burden.

The Congress was called in extra session upon the inauguration of President Harding primarily for the purpose of enacting a tariff law. The bill over which the Republican House had been laboring for more than two years came to the Senate on July 23, 1921, where, after more than a year, it still is, with every prospect that, in view of the way it has been denounced even by the Republican press, it will be allowed to expire in conference, the two houses being in apparently irreconcilable conflict on a vital feature of the bill.

The one outstanding accomplishment of the Congress, said by *The Boston Transcript*, a leading Republican journal to be the worst with which the country has been afflicted in years, is the revenue law, characterized by an obvious purpose to relieve the over-rich of a large share of the burden of federal taxes to which they became subject under legislation enacted by a Democratic Congress, and to impose it upon the general mass of the consuming public, and particularly upon those who find the task of supplying their daily wants no easy task under any circumstances.

The record thus far made by the Republican administration is one of fatuous opportunism, in which one searches vainly for any guiding principle. Its legislative achievements are in striking contrast with those of the administration it displaced, of which our history affords no parallel. The critical period through which the country is passing would have been one of widespread ruin but for three measures enacted during that régime—the federal reserve law, the farm loan law and the War Finance Corporation act.

The administration is unable to grapple with foreign problems because of the passions that were aroused to break President Wilson and the bitterness that was engendered to defeat his policies, and it is unable effectually to deal with domestic problems because of the well-founded belief that in respect to such it invariably yields to the desires, if it does not freely embrace the views, of those seeking further to enrich themselves through government favoritism.

The National Republican Congressional Committee

By Hon. Will R. Wood, Indiana, Chairman

FOR more than forty years there has been some form of organization, the purpose of which was to assist in the election of Republican members of Congress. Prior to 1912, this organization was temporary in character and without any well defined program of action. It was known as the "Republican Congressional Campaign Committee." In 1912, initial steps were taken toward the organization of a National Republican Congressional Committee, permanent in character. Permanent headquarters were established in Washington in 1913, and the new Committee had supervision of several special elections conducted that year. In 1914 the Committee commenced functioning for the first time through the entire year. This it has continued to do ever since and has steadily advanced in scope and activity.

The Committee as now constituted, is composed of one member from each state having a Republican representation in Congress. The Republican delegation in Congress from each state, selects its member, submits his name to the Republican caucus for approval and receives the sanction of that body, and the person so named becomes a member of the National Republican Congressional Committee.

At present the Committee consists of thirty-nine members, the largest membership in its history, due to the fact that the Republicans now have representation from more states than ever before.

The general officers of the Committee are elected by the full membership, which also elects an executive committee of fifteen, of which the Chairman of the general committee is, under the rules, made ex-officio chairman. The executive committee directs the activities of the organization, subject, however, to the supervision of the general committee.

In addition to the executive committee, there are other sub-committees, viz., plan and scope of activities, finances, auditing, literature, publicity, speakers, law, and woman's activity, the chairman of the general committee being ex-officio chairman of each of these sub-committees.

The general committee is organized biennially after the incoming of each new Congress, but there is no break, however, in the continuity of the organization, all officers, under the rules, serving until their successors are elected and qualified.

Thirty-nine of the forty-eight states of the Union are now represented on the National Republican Congressional Committee as follows:

California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, New Mexico, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

The Republican Congressional Committee is, as it should be, the most influential organization to keep the people of the country informed upon the progress of Congressional matters. It is representative of all the country, both geographically and politically, and it is constant instead of intermittent. This Committee is now perfecting plans outlined years ago. Its equipment is a product of years of effort. While it assists in keeping the House Republican, it does this through a constant program of education, through which the public is informed of the progress of legislation. This Committee is not a mere campaign committee. It is the National Republican Congressional Committee with its force at work between campaigns as well as during the campaigns. Its funds for carrying on its work come from the contributors to whom regular reports are made of the doings of the Committee. The funds are generally applied as follows: Headquarters, salaries, supplies, rent, etc.; postage, telephone and telegraph; collection of funds, salaries, supplies and equipment; transportation; woman's organization; publicity, research, speakers, printing, etc.; organization and educational work in congressional districts.

As hereinbefore indicated, it is the prime purpose of the National Republican Congressional Committee to assist in the election of Republican members to the House of Representatives, and to accomplish this purpose it disseminates through the Union, facts and figures with reference to the existing conditions pertaining to our Governmental affairs, in order that the individual voter may be enabled to vote intelligently for or against the candidate or candidates asking his suffrage. For instance, in the present campaign it will be the purpose of this Committee to bring to the attention of the voters of the United States the accomplishments of this administration and the present Congress; also to bring to their attention the many problems and the magnitude thereof that confronted the present Congress and the present administration upon their advent to responsibility.

Never since the formation of our government has any administration been confronted with as many, or as intricate problems as the present administration, and never since the organization of our Government, has any Congress, in the same length of time, approached the present Congress in accomplishment in constructive legislation, or in saving public funds. This work is but fairly begun, and much yet remains to be done, and which can only be done through a continuation of a Republican majority in Congress to aid in carrying out the political and economic policies of President Harding.

The National Republican Congressional Committee will busy itself from now until election, in impressing in every honorable way upon the minds of the voters the necessity of the election of a Republican majority to the next Congress in order that the work so splendidly commenced by the present administration may be carried on.

The National Democratic Congressional Committee

By D. K. Hempstead, Assistant Secretary*

*In the absence of Hon. Arthur B. Rouse, Chairman of the Committee

THE National Democratic Congressional Committee is exactly what its name implies—National, Democratic, and Congressional. Each state, Democratic delegation in the House selects one of its members for membership on the committee; and, since the institution of woman suffrage, each member recommends to the committee, upon its organization, a woman representative from his state who becomes a member upon her acceptance of appointment. The chairman is usually authorized to fill all vacancies and to appoint all necessary committees, and so forth. Before adoption of woman suffrage, the personnel of the committee was practically limited to Members and ex-Members of Congress. Its purpose is to collect and disseminate data and information of concern to voters in the various congressional districts and to give special attention to the congressional ticket in campaigns for election.

As to the congressional situation. During this and the preceding Congress the Republican party has been in complete control of both the House and Senate. Throughout the last Republican Congress both Houses devoted their time to preparing for the 1920 campaign. Neither House would do anything that had been recommended by President Wilson; and the things that they did do, except things in the ordinary, were things that they knew President Wilson could not approve. In fact, it was not their purpose to legislate; rather, it was only their purpose to vex and annoy; and some of their performances were so ridiculous that they had to be re-enacted under Harding in order to bolster up the claim to respectability of purpose.

Not much is said by the Republicans about the 66th Congress, because it was unproductive of anything of which its membership or the country could be proud; and the recollection of it only makes the Republican leaders fear that the country may recollect it too, and that it has had four years of "do-nothing" Republican Congresses instead of two.

The present Republican House has made a spectacle of itself with respect to whatever it has undertaken. This might well have been anticipated, because many of its members came over from the preceding Republican House in which they became well saturated with the "do-nothing" spirit. It has been unable to even consider and pass the great supply bills without immediately impugning its own integrity by the nature and character of its financial claims of savings effected therein; it dilly-dallied along with the tax and tariff bills until finally some action had to be taken and taken at once; and then, without consideration, it jammed these two great measures through the House and sent them to the Senate. No two great measures—measures that so vitally concern the economic life and well-being of our people—were ever more illy considered, more incompetently handled, and more carelessly thrown into the Senate than these; and this is fully verified by that which has happened in the Senate and which is now happening. The tax bill was condemned by the Republican Senate leaders as unworthy of the Congress—a "make-shift"—even after it had been improved by a volume of Senate amendments; and it appears that the pending tariff bill, with more than two thousand Senate amendments submitted, is going to out-do the tax bill in disclosing to the country lack of competent and careful consideration in the House.

So many things have happened in the past few months that ought not happen in a Democracy in the manner and form in which they have happened. They not only breed distrust, but they come too close to actually showing cause for distrust; and, in any event, they give rise to ugly suggestions and conjectures.

The well being of any Democracy depends upon strict recognition and literal observance of the equal rights of each of its members before the law, and an equally strict intolerance of special privileges to any; and in the very nature of things this proposition is impossible of recognition by the Republican party—at least by the present official personnel of that party. Indeed, it would seem that the issue in the oncoming campaign should be directed more against the present official personnel of the Republican party than against the principles and policies for which it pretends to stand; because it has proven so much worse and so much more unworthy of tolerant consideration than the principles which it pretends to espouse. One thing is sure; and that is that the Republican party should be driven out of power or the country should be given a sweeping change in its official personnel. In fact, it seems that the voters have taken this view of the matter in many places; and advantage is being taken of the primary that the desired end may be assured of realization in the general election.

The withering criticism of the Republican press which has been leveled against this Congress (it has had no other kind of newspaper mention) is certain to have a telling effect in the coming election.

After having been in control of both Houses of Congress for four years and of the administrative offices for eighteen months, the present personnel of the Republican party finds itself defenseless against the assaults of the more worthy advocates of its principles and policies; and the barrage that is being laid down by the great Republican press of the country is going to do more than merely blast out the present regime; it is going to help bring in another; and the new one will have something inculcated in its heart that will operate as a reminder throughout the days of its service. How can the Republicans hope to retain the House, composed largely of the same Republican personnel, in the next Congress?

The Democratic party has a recent eight years' record of clean faithful service back of it. Of course two and four years ago we were charged with all sorts of high crimes and misdemeanors; but I do not recall that I have heard of any Democrat against whom any charge has been prosecuted by the Republicans since they have been in control; and unless the Republicans proceed soon with their prosecutions of criminal Democrats, my opinion is that they are going to be afraid to do so.

Any how, a Democrat, guilty of misfeasance or malfeasance in public office should be dealt with more severely than if he were a Republican, because more is expected of him than of a Republican.

Again, the past twelve years afford the people a splendid opportunity of comparing the two old parties and of checking up on the service actually rendered; for they have had eight years of Democratic service and four years of Republican loafing; and while I do not know what the country may do this fall, it is almost inconceivable that it will continue in the next House any great part of the present Republican regime.

How the Republican Party Has Organized Women

By Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton

Vice-Chairman Executive Committee, Republican National Committee

WOMEN were enfranchised largely through the efforts of the Republican party. The agitation of the slavery question brought women into the movement as speakers and workers and when later the Republican Party was formed, women's sympathies were naturally with it. On the other hand, because of the progressive spirit of the Republican Party, it was sympathetic with woman's progress.

After Congressional Committees began to grant hearings and make reports, it was the Republicans who were sympathetic. Now and then a Northern Democrat was helpful, but the Southern Democrats were almost universally antagonistic. It was only when we neared the end of the battle that Democrats came to women's aid. Of the thirty-seven states ratifying, thirty were Republican and seven Democratic. But for the Republican mountain men of Tennessee, that state would not have ratified, although Democrats are given the credit.

Nationally, Republican women organized politically before they had the vote. Of course, both party women organized state by state as they were enfranchised. At the Chicago convention the National Committee voted to increase the number of the Executive Committee and to add women. Eight women were chosen and one of them was elected Vice-Chairman. A woman at that time was chosen assistant secretary of the National Committee and in June, 1921, a place as Second Vice-Chairman of the National Committee was created and a woman elected to it. The women of the Executive Committee were on duty in the National headquarters, both at Chicago and New York, during the campaign of 1920. The Vice-Chairman now has her offices with the National Committee at Washington and supervises the work of Republican women.

If all the women of the United States had been enfranchised by Federal action at the same time, there probably would have been a general plan for political activity, but as the first women were enfranchised in Wyoming in 1869 and the last in 1920, it is easy to see that the state became the unit and each state a law unto itself.

The mountain states were the first to enfranchise their women. A few women were organized there in the campaign in behalf of women, but the vote was practically given them. They took little part in the political machine. They were sometimes members of committees but not very active. They influenced nominations since committees knew they must put up good men if they were to secure the woman vote, but they were not in the "machine" as they are today.

In some states women are elected to the state central committees. In more states they are elected on county committees, but in most states they secure positions by appointment. In a few states women have been able to secure legislation providing for two committee members from each county, one of which may be a woman. The trend is toward an equal number of men and women on

state and county committees, but in some states where the number of committeemen has been large and the number has been doubled, the action has been abortive, some such double committees were too large to find a place of meeting in small county seats and hence were unable to function.

The National Executive Committee of the Republican Party is a creation of the National Committee and consequently is subject to its direction. This applies equally to men and women, yet in reality the Executive Committee is the one which functions actively during the national campaigns. The chairman of the National Committee is also chairman of the Executive Committee, the other officers are different. The women's work is under the management of the women of the Executive Committee, not by vote or law but because the larger number of women are on that committee.

There is a striking difference in the manner of working between the women of the mountain states and those of the Middle West and East. The Eastern women are greater sticklers for their rights, more given to details, depend upon the house to house canvass. Their campaigns are more spirited. This is probably due to the fact that Eastern women had a harder battle to gain suffrage than did Western women.

It appears, too, that Eastern women care for regularity, believe in the efficacy of the machine, care for the principles of the party, while Western women talk less of party and more of candidates. This may not be true, such general statements usually are not, but it so appears to the writer.

The present Republican women's organization is temporary. Sooner or later as states make legal provision for women on state and county committees the women's organization will disappear. Then a woman may be chairman just as some women will be Senators and Representatives, but in the machine as in office-holding, men will predominate because of women's home duties and interests. In both cases women will be careful to designate who shall serve.

Women have more interest in some political matters than have men and vice versa. Yet political matters can be settled in the states as are domestic matters in the home, by men and women acting together.

There is a tendency on the part of some to belittle women's official place in the Republican Party, but it matters little what is said, provided it is not true. Women have a substantial place in the Party and are making good.

A United States Senator when approached by a friend suggesting he do certain things in his state among women in the interest of his nomination, said, "I would not interfere in any way with Mrs. — (vice-chairman of the state), for there is no man in all my acquaintance who can do his job as she is doing hers. I am content to let well enough alone."

How the Democratic Party Has Organized Women

By Mrs. Emily Newell Blair

Member Democratic National Committee

WHEN we come to discuss the problem of women's recognition inside political parties, we are face to face with certain facts. The first of these is that millions of women voters coming of political age at the same moment cannot be absorbed by a party, as can the comparatively few young men that come of age each year. These millions of new voters create for the party somewhat the same situation that the annexation of a country does for a government. The new citizens could not be absorbed into the body politic as immigrants, but provision for special representation would be found necessary. The second fact is that nearly all these millions of new voters are engaged in the traditional occupation of women, namely, that of wifehood-motherhood, and have, therefore, a different set of work and thought habits as well as certain interests apart from the men.

There are two ways to meet this problem of organizing women into the political parties. One is to say that the sex line is dropped at the ballot box and each woman must compete as an individual for recognition on the committees which are the governing bodies of the political parties. The trouble with this policy is that the minute a party takes this position its chairman appoints a sub-committee to organize and appeal to the women voters, thus acknowledging that there is a difference between the woman voter and the man voter and that she must be organized in a different way, but keeping all authority in the man-made committee's hands. To be logical, a party taking this position should have no Woman's Division.

The other position that a political party may take is to say to the women voters: "There is a difference between men and women voters. The newness of your franchise will handicap you in a competition with men for party leadership, so we will make a special provision for women leaders. Your traditional occupation has given you a special viewpoint, so we will see that women, as women, are given special representation in our councils."

There are two arguments in favor of this policy. First, it gives a woman an equal place in the organization in the only way in which they will get this place. Second, it recognizes the lines between the sexes as now drawn by society.

The Democratic party has adopted this policy. The National Democratic Committee was made up of a man from each state called the National Committeeman. At its last national convention the Democratic party decided that there should also be a National Committeewoman from each state. These women members are hereafter to be elected in the same fashion as the Committeemen. The National Committee has recommended to the State Committees that they be composed in the same manner and there should be a precinct Committeewoman elected in each precinct equal in authority with the precinct Committeeman. Carrying further this policy of having an absolutely fifty-fifty organization of men and women, the Executive Committee of the Democratic party is made up of an equal number of men and women. The women on these committees hold their positions by the same authority as the men, and have an equal voice on them.

This hospitable spirit manifested by the Democratic party to women is in glaring contrast to the grudging reluctance of the Republican organization to give women anything more than the ancient opportunity of unrecognized service. Not a single woman serves as a member of the duly elected Republican National Committee. There are a few women on an Executive Committee, named thereon by the chairman of the National Committee, and presumably removable at his pleasure.

The work of organizing the Democratic women is in charge of a woman member of the Democratic National Committee who works in closest co-operation with the chairman, representing at headquarters the view-point of the women. Elected to the committee by the women of her state, this Committeewoman bears a mandate from women and is co-equal with any man on the committee. On the other hand, the woman who is nationally in charge of the organization of the Republican women is merely a member of an Executive Committee to which she was appointed by a man chairman. Not having been elected to her office she has no mandate from the women and having no vote on the National Committee she can do no more than carry out the orders handed down from above. The policy adopted by the Democratic party provides leaders for women, chosen by women; the policy adopted by the Republican party provides only "overseers" of women, selected by men.

There is still another reason why the policy adopted by the Democratic party would seem to be a very wise one. If a party says to its women, as does the Republican, "You must take your chance and contend for any elected place in the organization against some man candidate," it is issuing an invitation to women to compete with men for leadership in the party. Is there not grave danger that such competition may breed sex antagonism? Equality is what women have been asking. May not equality be co-operation as well as competition? And is it not better to give women such recognition that, instead of competition between the sexes in politics, we shall have the same kind of co-operation in politics that we now have in the home?

The home and what it stands for is the product of the intelligence and devotion of women. Archaeologists tell us that women invented the window, she raised the height of the room, she designed the doorway, she created the garden, developed the present complex establishment out of the prehistoric dugout. And Anglo-Saxon men, under the influence of oratory, are wont to say that to her alone is due the tender associations that cling about the word, HOME.

If she is taken into the Democratic party on the same basis of co-operation that has operated in the home, may she not perhaps bring equally as valuable contributions to the organization of the party? By adopting this policy of co-operation the Democratic party gives her the opportunity of doing so. In other words, while the Republican party attempts merely to "round up" the woman vote, the Democratic party makes it possible for women to build into it their own ideas and ideals.

Why Voters Should Support the Republican Party

By John T. Adams, Chairman

Republican National Committee

THE great majority of the American electorate are substantial, thinking people. By the November elections they will have experienced over eighteen months of Republican administration. They will ask themselves whether conditions during those eighteen months have not changed materially for the better; whether the nation's business and all business—agriculture, industry and commerce—are not on a more substantial basis, in a more prosperous condition, and with a more reassuring outlook because of the eighteen months of the Republican administration.

They will ask themselves if the sum and total of eighteen months of Republican administration of the Government has not been for the weal and progress of the nation and its citizens. Petty issues, personalities and isms, no matter how cleverly presented or violently proclaimed, will not swerve the American voters from a decision based upon actual conditions and the irrefutable record of things accomplished.

The Republican party came into control of the Government at the end of eight years of Democratic administration. Public affairs were in a mess. Business interests of the country were distraught. The basic industry of agriculture was approaching bankruptcy. The record shows that as soon as the Republican administration assumed control of public affairs conditions began to improve.

No other nation during the last year has shown such progress in a material way, or such growth of contentment among its own people, or such acquisition of good will of other nations as the United States. There is not on record another administration in our own national affairs that has grown more steadily and surely in the confidence of the people as has this administration. It initiated and carried to successful conclusion the greatest single move in the world toward an end of all war, and the establishment of amity among all nations. This movement was the conference for the limitation of armament, called by President Harding, its official program formulated and directed by the American delegation under the chairmanship of Secretary of State Hughes, and its product of eight treaties ratified by the Republican Senate within forty-nine days from the date of their submission by President Harding—a record in international affairs that is without parallel in the world's history.

The Republican administration inherited from the eight years of Democracy a staggering debt, extravagant ideas and slipshod methods that would have bankrupted the nation in a few more years. The special session of Congress promptly enacted the budget act, the greatest piece of business legislation in a generation, which enabled the

executive branch of the Government instantly to stop extravagant practices and substitute business methods which compelled economy. No other government in the world has made such drastic reductions in expenditures as the United States has made since we elected a Republican Congress in 1918. No other government in the world has so nearly changed its deficits to a surplus as has the United States under the present administration.

No Congress of the United States in time of peace has passed so much constructive and helpful legislation as the present one. No other Congress in the history of the United States ever enacted a greater percentage of legislation promised by the administration. The debts inherited from a Democratic administration, however great and unwarranted, must be paid. They must be paid by levying of taxes. The Republican Congress must write the tax laws to pay debts. There are no popular forms of taxation, hence criticism of any tax law is to be expected. But the new tax law written by the Republican Congress reduces taxes by \$800,000,000 this year and will make a further reduction next year. Despite the necessity of meeting the obligations left it by the Democratic administration, by the closest cooperation between the executive and legislative branches, has reduced the national expenditures by almost \$2,000,000,000.

Under the Republican administration Government bonds have advanced 15 per cent since March 4, 1921, selling at par or above for the first time since they were issued. On the other hand, new Government securities are finding an eager market, although they bear a lower rate of interest than any time since the pre-war period. The interest rate has been lowered from 7 per cent to a pre-war level by the federal reserve bank, thus making it easy for legitimate interests to obtain necessary credit.

The basic industry of agriculture has been placed on its feet by a series of laws enacted by the present Congress with the result that today that great industry, representing one-third the population and 40 per cent of the buying power of the country, looks forward to a year of prosperity where it faced utter ruin when the Republican administration came into power.

These are only the high lights of the accomplishments of the Republican administration since March 4, 1921. The issue will be whether the work so well begun is to be halted or to be continued. There is no middle ground between the Democratic party and the Republican party. The nation will either continue the Republican party in power or it will express a preference for the methods and policies of the Democratic party by the election of a Democratic Congress. To do this would deadlock the machinery of the Government.

Why Voters Should Support the Democratic Party

By Cordell Hull, Chairman

Democratic National Committee

WHEN the Democratic party surrendered control of the general Government on March 4th, 1921, it had to its credit a record of wonderful achievements in both domestic and foreign affairs. It retired with an eight years' record of thoroughly honest and efficient public service. The Republican party, upon the other hand, has become generally discredited as an agency of Government during the first twelve months following its assumption of Governmental control. The fact is now universally recognized that the National Republican party has failed most signally in leadership, programmes, and policies, both domestic and foreign.

Apart from the monumental failure of the Republican leadership after seventeen months' trial, which negatives all claims of further consideration by the voter, there are certain fundamental differences between the two parties, a casual consideration of which should influence intelligent and fair-minded citizens to turn wholeheartedly to the Democratic party.

The Old Guard, or re-actionary leadership, which now controls the National Republican party, as it will continue to control it, consistently opposes rule by the people and stands for class or caste rule by a select and favored few. The Democratic party, upon the other hand, holds fast to the Jeffersonian doctrine of government by the consent of the governed. The Republican leadership still clings to the doctrine of Federalism as distinguished from that of local self-government, which the Democratic party has always championed. The Republican leadership stands for the materialistic side alone, while Democrats stand for the human welfare and human rights side, in addition. The Republican leadership is the very embodiment of special privilege in all its vicious forms, while Democrats not only proclaim but practice the contrary doctrine of equal rights and equal opportunities to every class of persons and of legitimate business in every section of the country. This Republican doctrine in its application ramifies through all phases of our financial, industrial and economic affairs. It always means a corrupt partnership between the Government, under the control of the Republican party, and the privileged or predatory interests who furnish the sinews of war during a political campaign.

The Democratic party is traditionally the party of rigid economy in Federal, State and local affairs and of low and equitable taxation imposed for the sole purpose of defraying the expenditures of Government. The Republican party, as controlled by its re-actionary leaders, is traditionally the party of waste and extravagance in expenditures, Federal, State and local. The Democratic party stands for the only sound, economic policies as they apply to both our domestic and foreign affairs.

These policies relate to both internal and custom-house taxation, and also to the maintenance of sound, reciprocal foreign trade relations and foreign market conditions to the end that American producers of surplus food stuffs, raw materials and manufactures may at all times have the most available foreign markets at the best prices. The reactionary Republican leadership, on the other hand, is opposed to internal taxation according to ability to pay and stands for such economic monstrosities as prohibitive tariffs, which will now as in the future choke to death our foreign trade, deprive us of our foreign markets, and destroy our great merchant marine, which cannot hope to exist in the absence of the permanent healthy flow of international trade back and forth.

The Democratic party stands for and favors the highest standard of public morals as contrasted with the utter indifference of the Republican leadership to any sort of public or political morals as illustrated by Newberryism, Daughertyism and other scandals. Democrats not only preach but practice political honesty in that they do not make a promise to the people which they do not undertake to carry out, and as a rule do carry out, while the Republican leadership, as in 1920, unscrupulously makes scores of promises which at the time they had no intention of performing and did not perform.

Space does not permit a detailed comparison of the wonderful record of the recent Democratic administration with the amazingly disappointing record of the present Republican administration. Suffice it to say that no citizen in America, not even a Republican, would dare insult the intelligence of the most ignorant person by offering to compare the first seventeen months of Harding with the first seventeen months of the Woodrow Wilson administration. No political party in history has to its credit a greater number of sound, beneficial and constructive legislative measures and administrative policies than the recent Democratic administration. No political party that was ever in control of any government in time of war emerged with such a record of honest and efficient service as did the Democratic party following the World War.

Why should the people support the Democratic party? The answer is, for the very reason that an employer would retain the services of one who had more than made good in every essential respect after the most thorough trial. Why should the Republican party receive the support of the American people? It should not receive their support because it has utterly forfeited the remotest claim to their confidence and respect by reason of its failure to achieve anything above the commonplace in the face of the most unprecedented opportunities to serve wisely and well.

Why Women Are Joining the Republican Party

By Mrs. Medill McCormick

Member, Executive Committee, Republican National Committee

THE new voters—the women—are choosing their party upon its record of achievement, not because of its program of promises. It is for this reason the women are joining the Republican party two to one.

The Democratic party is the party of criticism and opposition. The Republican party is the party of vision, initiative, action and efficiency. This has been true nationally during the entire period since the Civil War, the Republicans, representing as they do, the party of vision and action, produced the leadership which has elected all of the presidents, with two exceptions, during the last sixty years. It is an historical fact that the Republicans are largely responsible for the development of the country, as during that period (save for the Cleveland and Wilson administrations) the foreign and domestic policy of the United States has been in the hands of the Republican statesmen.

The long record of achievements made by the Republicans beginning with prevention of the dissolution of these United States, includes the emancipation of the slaves; the enactment of the Homestead Law, which gave to tens of thousands their rural homes; the creating of the Country Life Commission under President Roosevelt, which raised the standards of farm life and furnished inspiration for all the legislation which has since been enacted for the betterment of agriculture. Rural Free Delivery, Parcel Post and Postal Savings, the Pure Food and Pure Drugs Acts, the Federal Meat Inspection and the Honest Label Law, were all initiated by Republican leaders and enacted into law under Republican Administrations.

The women in industry have been protected by the Woman's Bureau permanently established in the Department of Labor. The bill creating this Bureau was introduced by Representative Campbell, Republican, and Senator Kenyon, Republican, and was passed by a Republican House and Senate. The Maternity Bill recommended by President Harding in his first message to Congress, was passed promptly by a Republican Congress. The present Congress has voted for the fiscal year, 1923, an appropriation of \$1,240,000 to carry out the provisions of this measure. Adding the increases appropriated this year, of \$40,000 for the Children's Bureau and \$25,000 for the Woman's Bureau, it amounts to a total of \$1,460,000 to be spent for the benefit of women and children.

Eleven Republican states have passed minimum wage laws, protecting women in industry, and in only one Democratic state is there such a law.

Mothers' Pensions are provided in all but eight states; of which seven are in the "solid Democratic South."

The hours of labor for women are effectively limited in thirty-seven Republican states, but only seven Democratic states have such limitation. Twelve Republican states prohibit women from working at night in certain industries, but no Democratic state has such prohibition.

It was the Republican party leaders who were the pioneers in originating the National Child Labor Law, led by Senator Beveridge (Republican). The solid Democratic states through their Democratic senators, bitterly opposed this legislation. It was twice passed by an overwhelming Republican vote, only to be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court as a result of litigation started by Democratic mill owners who care more for their profits than for the preservation of human life. Republican senators have introduced an Anti-Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution, deter-

mined to protect and save the children of the South as well as the North, in spite of Democratic opposition.

The same case can be made in favor of Republican controlled states regarding the education of children. Twenty-seven Republican states have compulsory school attendance, only seven Democratic. Twenty-one Republican and one Democratic states provide evening schools.

The Republicans individually and as a party, were more responsible than any other political party for the enfranchisement of the women. The Federal Amendment was put through by a Republican Congress and ratified by 36 Republican states. Only seven Democratic states passed resolutions of ratification.

The Limitation of Armaments Conference, itself an achievement for an entire administration, can only be mentioned in passing as one of the many accomplishments of the Harding administration.

During the special session of Congress, called by the President April 12, 1921, the Republicans were responsible for passing more legislation, and more constructive legislation, in a given number of parliamentary hours than any other Congress in the history of the country. Some of the most important of these measures were the National Budget Act; Joint Resolution declaring war at an end; Emergency Tariff Act, designed to protect the agricultural interest of the country by extending credits to the farmers; the Revenue Act which lifted \$800,000,000 of taxes from the American people for the present year; a saving of one-third of a billion dollars in Government expenditures; and a bill to create a refunding commission to handle foreign debts.

A matter of interest to every one is the pending tariff bill. The attitude of the Democrats and Republicans toward this complicated and intricate piece of legislation is most typical of the difference between the two parties. The Democrats, having nothing constructive to offer as an alternative plan which will adequately protect the country, spend their time in an attempt to confuse the minds of the people as to the facts in relation to certain schedules. They are seizing, what they conceive to be, an opportunity to deceive the women by stating half truths, are trying to persuade them that because of an increased tariff they will be obliged to pay more for articles of necessity, wearing apparel and toys. In addressing the women they say "If you do not want to see the little children of America deprived of the toys which make them happy, the women must vote against the bill which makes the price of them prohibitive." The Democrats in making the above statement definitely infer that the present tariff bill now before the Senate, will be responsible for an increase in the price of toys. The Republicans believe that the enormous profits made by the retailers will enable them to pay this added duty without suffering any hardships and still sell toys at the present prices.

Today the women who now have the voting power to make their voices heard, will rally to the support of the party which stands for America first and by so doing protect the interests of the family, and the women and the children in industry. Their vote will be cast for the party that has economically and efficiently conducted the affairs of the National government. It is the Republican party they will support at the coming fall elections, as they did two years ago, and for the same reason. The Republican party stands before the country now as always, upon its record of the past and its program for the future.

Why Women are Joining the Democratic Party

By Mrs. Antoinette Funk

THERE are a good many reasons why women might turn to the Democratic party, but the paramount reason is that they have lived through two long years of Republican administration.

Academic arguments upon the respective merits of the fundamentals of the two parties, their dead and gone leaders, their glorious past, are not concerning women greatly. Women are living in the present and looking to the future and they appreciate the old adage that "one live baby is worth a whole graveyard full of dead ancestors."

It is the past two years that will crystallize the political sentiment and fix in some measure the party affiliations of our newest voters, the women.

Women who flocked to the polls in 1920 and voted the Republican ticket, were educated to the belief that a political millennium was immediately before them if they reinstated the G. O. P. They were promised that the burden of taxation caused by the war, would immediately be lightened; that bad government was responsible for the size of our tax bill, but that our national business would be placed by the Republicans, if elected, on a basis satisfactory and beneficial to all. "Prosperity" had always been the Republican watchword.

Early in the administration they were given a finance measure. It had been eagerly awaited. Now at last our problems would be solved. Women had been educated to the understanding that sound finance is the basis of sound government. But lo, and behold, when the precious document was completed, the Chairman of the Finance Committee himself, Mr. Penrose, admitted in the United States Senate that it was a poor makeshift, and that the people would be greatly dissatisfied with it. Indeed, it was so bad, that Senator Smoot, now ranking Republican member on the Finance Committee, refused to vote for it in committee. But the Republicans enacted it into law, and said that some day when they had more time and could get around to it they would give us another and a better measure. The law is with us yet; the financial distress of the people has increased and the confessed failure of the Republican party to fulfill the promise that brought it into power, is recognized by the veriest voting amateur.

The Republicans said they would give the soldiers a bonus. Women pretty generally believe in the bonus. So they took the campaign promise and the platform promise, at their face value. And from that day to this, the "gentlemen on the Hill" and the "gentleman in the White House" have been busily engaged in "passing the buck." As much as the soldiers need their money in these hard times, they have suffered more because of the insincerity of the government than from that need. Women are tender, where our soldiers are concerned, and this alone has sent thousands of them into the Democratic ranks.

Women feel defrauded because the "best minds" have so signally failed to function. It was natural to assume that the best of best minds would be allocated to the Cabinet. And that the "best minds" should determine to turn over for private exploitation our treasured oil lands, is giving the thoughtful women cause for anxiety. The fact that the President should lease the oil lands that would furnish oil

for our fleet in time of need is something they do not understand. They want to know why the Secretary of the Navy permitted his Department to be denuded and the Department of the Interior enriched without protest, and then they recall that Secretary Denby has long been an exponent of the development of national resources by private interests; that Mr. Roosevelt went into his state and advised the people to vote against him because he said he was dangerous in matters of conservation. And women are still more concerned to know why so much secrecy prevailed in the entire transaction; that when the lands were finally leased to certain favored interests, the transfer took place at midnight, so to speak, and, upon official request was kept secret for two weeks. Women are being told by the press that there was no competition in the bidding for these oil leases and that because of their location the great Teapot Dome out in Wyoming will be drained dry, and not a gallon of its marvelous treasure be left for our Navy.

No people are more concerned over the cost of living than women, and the meaning of the tariff bill now in Congress has dawned upon them. Again, they are indebted to the press for telling them the truth concerning it, and they are indebted to the Democratic party for throwing light on this measure, which compared to the malodorous Payne-Aldrich bill is an innocent lamb. At this writing many members of the Senate have taken alarm at their own handiwork, and a scrutiny of the schedules shows that there is very little that we use or consume in our every day life that has not been hit. The Senior Senator from New York tells us that the price of wool clothing used by poor people will be increased 37 per cent, the cheap and serviceable silks, Shantung and pongees, will be taken out of the reach of American woman, in order that the silk manufacturers may reap a harvest, manufacturers who admitted in committee that American women don't care what kind of silk they buy, so long as the line of the garment was good and the color attractive. The tariff that has been placed on food stuffs will raise the price of living for every individual member of the family.

The general condition of the country, labor unrest, industrial depression, low prices of farm products, unemployment, all of these things are turning women toward the Democratic party. Many of these ills could be remedied. Not all of them. The women realize that the administration is drifting; there is no chart, no plan toward which the administration seems to work. The women believe that the failure of peace in Europe is chargeable to us, and that peace in Europe would mean prosperity in America. They realize that they bartered the gold of the League of Nations, for the glittering sand of an unreality; the promise of an Association of Nations that will never and can never be fulfilled. They know that the Four Power Pact has brought the evils that they most feared, an entangling alliance, an alliance with France, England and Japan that the rest of the world regards as a "treaty offensive."

The foregoing are some of the immediate reasons why women are coming into the Democratic party. They think in terms of today and today's needs. They are considering the price of coal and the question of transportation and the price of food and of clothing and taxes, and the contemplation of the past two years is a LIVING TEXT BOOK.

Party Machinery—How it Operates

By Official Statement

The Republican National Committee

THE Republican National Committee is composed of fifty-three members, one from each of the forty-eight states, and one each from the District of Columbia, Alaska, the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico and Hawaii. The committeemen are chosen every four years during the Republican National Convention by the state delegations attending the convention. In some instances the committeemen are now named in state-wide primaries or state conventions and the delegates to the national convention merely ratify this result.

After the Republican National Convention has chosen its nominees for President and Vice President, the newly elected National Committee meets to reorganize, electing a chairman, a vice chairman, an assistant vice chairman, who must be a woman, a secretary, an assistant secretary, a treasurer and a sergeant-at-arms. These constitute the staff of officers, who hold their offices during the four years for which the committeemen serve. Although there is no official provision on the subject, the chairman is usually chosen after consultation with the Presidential nominee, it being natural that the chairman should be one whose relationship with the nominee is agreeable.

After the officers are elected, the chairman selects an executive committee from within and without the committee membership. At present the executive committee of the Republican National Committee has nineteen members, eleven of whom are men and eight of whom, including the vice-chairman, are women. The Chairman of the National Committee, the secretary and the treasurer are ex-officio members of the executive committee. The duties of the executive committee include the general management of the campaign, the running of the headquarters and the doing or having done the many duties required in a national election.

For many years it was the custom to maintain the headquarters of the Republican National Committee in New York City, with branch headquarters in Chicago. Since 1920, however, Washington has been made headquarters because the Republican party is in power and Washington is considered the best place from which to operate. This year a branch office has been opened in Chicago for the benefit of the Speakers' Bureau and is operated by the National Committee, the Senatorial Committee and the Congressional Committee in common.

The principal work of the Republican National Committee in non-election years is to send out informative literature to Republican newspapers, speakers and organizations. The committee maintains a publicity bureau which furnishes informative news articles to 6500 Republican papers, to speakers, workers and organization leaders. This bureau also prepares pamphlets and records to supply the specific demands which come in regularly.

Since the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution giving women the vote, the Republican National Committee has maintained a regular Women's Division to give special attention to the needs of the women voters. This division also is active between campaigns assisting women with informative literature and aiding them in organization work.

The Democratic National Committee

THE one vital difference between the organization and operation of the Democratic National Committee and the Republican National Committee is that the Democratic Committee recognizes the equality of women in the conduct of party affairs but the Republican National Committee does not include women in its membership. It has a few women connected with its committee, acting by appointment or selection, but not with the voting power and full representation that women have on the Democratic National Committee. There is a Democratic National Committeeman from each state and also a Democratic National Committeewoman from each state. This policy of fifty-fifty is followed in the state and local Democratic committees wherever possible.

Aside from this fact the two political national committees function in about the same manner, with the national chairman at the head, and an Executive Committee appointed by the chairman and varying in numbers, of which the National chairman is also chairman.

In the 1920 campaign the Democratic National Committee adopted a rule by which the chairman of the National Committee should be a member of the National Committee, making anyone else ineligible for the chairmanship. This rule does not apply to members of the executive committee appointed by the chairman.

The Democratic National Committee functions in the different states through the chairman of the Democratic state committees; the state chairman functioning through the county chairman, and the county chairman functioning through his precinct or election district chairman.

In addition to a chairman of the Democratic National Committee, there are three vice-chairman, one of whom is a woman. There is also a resident committeewoman at National Headquarters, representing Democratic women of the country in the matter of organization.

The present officials of the Democratic National Committee are as follows:

Cordell Hull, chairman.
Wilbur W. Marsh, treasurer.
J. Bruce Kremer, vice-chairman.
Samuel B. Amidon, vice-chairman.
Miss Charl Williams, vice-chairman.
Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, resident committeewoman at headquarters.
Richard Linthicum, director of publicity.
Burt New, executive secretary.

The Republican National Committee—*cont'd.*

At present the chairman, the secretary and the treasurer of the Republican National Committee all work without compensation.

The present officers of the Republican National Committee are: John T. Adams, chairman; Ralph E. Williams, vice-chairman; Mrs. Leonard Wood, assistant vice-chairman; George B. Lockwood, secretary; Mrs. Christian Bradley South, assistant secretary; Fred W. Upham, treasurer; James G. Blaine, Jr., eastern treasurer; Edward B. Thayer, sergeant-at-arms.

Political Organization of Congress Explained

By Hon. William Tyler Page

Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress

IN THE SENATE

THE Vice President is the Senate's presiding officer. To enrolled bills he signs as "Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate." He is elected by the people in the same manner as is the President, that is, by the electoral votes of the States. He can vote in the Senate only in case of a tie. The Senate itself elects a President *pro tempore* who presides in the absence of the Vice President, and when the former is not present a Senator is designated whose title is Presiding Officer. The Vice President may be of a different political faith than that of a majority of the Senate, which latter selects the President *pro tempore*.

The Senate's officers—Secretary and Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper and Chaplain—are elected by its political majority, and their subordinate employees are appointed as Senatorial patronage, dispensed through a majority party committee; but minority Senators are accorded some recognition, and certain employees are carried on an efficiency roll.

Membership on Senate Committees is determined by party conference and selections ratified by the Senate. The seni-

ority rule is generally observed. A political majority of a committee is in ratio to that of the Senate itself.

Party policy in the Senate is sought—not always determined—in conference—never in binding caucus. Conferences select the Majority and Minority floor leaders, respectively.

These functionaries are parliamentary and political mouthpieces, and are usually accorded prior recognition by the Chair. The majority leader is a member of the Steering Committee (whose function it is to formulate a legislative program more or less in conjunction with a like Committee of the House), and he, together with the floor leader of the House, confers with the President—assuming their political faith to be the same.

The Senate whips—majority and minority—are also selected in party conference. They represent their respective parties in appraising party strength in a given question. Finding the weak spots, rounding up absentees, and in arranging and announcing pairs.

IN THE HOUSE

The Constitution provides that the House of Representatives shall choose its speaker and other officers. The House always has chosen a Speaker from its own membership. The House, unlike the Senate, must reorganize every two years. The Senate being a continuous body, is not subject to reorganization biennially unless its political complexion should change when one-third of its membership undergoes election.

Prior to the first meeting of a new House the political majority in caucus, designates its nominee for Speaker, and its nominees for other offices—Clerk, Sergeant-at-Arms, Doorkeeper, Postmaster, and Chaplain; selects a Committee on Committees composed of one member from each State having party representation in the House and elects a Chairman and Secretary of the party conference.

The person thus selected for Speaker is placed in nomination in the House by the Chairman of the Caucus, a minority nomination is likewise made, and the vote is viva voce, recorded by tellers. Until a Speaker is elected the Clerk of the preceding House presides. A Speaker *pro tempore* may be appointed by the Speaker or elected by the House, according to the period of the Speaker's absence. The other officers of the House are elected by resolution. Their subordinate employees, excepting those on a Soldier's Roll and such as may be exempt, are selected by a patronage committee.

The Committee on Committees selects the majority members in committees, usually following the seniority custom. These selections, as well as those of the minority, must be ratified by the Party Conference and elected by the House. This Committee also nominates the personnel of the Steering Committee and of the Patronage Committee and selects the Majority Floor Leader, and the Whip, subject to the approval of the Conference.

This constitutes the machinery of the political majority of the House.

The political minority has its own method of organizing. As now constituted it acts chiefly by Caucus decree. The caucus selects its membership on the Ways and Means Committee, and this in turn nominates minority representation on committees. The Caucus also elects a minority floor leader and an assistant. Its patronage consists of "minority em-

ployees" to the number authorized by law who are selected in Caucus.

The Majority Steering Committee consists of seven members, with the Floor Leader chairman, ex officio, and the Speakers, by courtesy.

The Floor Leader is not a member of any House Committee, his position requiring him to be in touch with the works of all committees, through their chairman. He is the majority spokesman in a parliamentary and political sense. But the conduct of particular business is generally controlled by the Chairman of the Committee reporting it.

The Patronage Committee consists of three members of the majority party.

The number of members to be appointed on Committees of the House is determined by its rules, but the majority party conference fixes the ratio of party representation according, as near as may be, to the relative party representation in the House. The larger and more important committees are divided into sub-committees, the political ratio still being observed, such committees being necessary for expeditious action. Thus, the Appropriations Committee of 35 members is divided into eleven sub-committees, each formulating an appropriation bill.

The chairman of a committee, unless he assigns that duty to another member of the majority, usually has charge in the House of a measure reported from his committee; and the ranking minority member of the committee controls the debate for and represents his side.

The "ranking member" either was chairman when his party controlled the House or is in line for promotion when party control changes.

A distinction between a "majority" and a "political majority" should be made. The latter organizes, formulates, and customarily dominates the House, but the former, disregarding party lines, not infrequently controls a given situation. This also is sometimes the case in committees.

The Committee on Rules is an important part of the House political organization. It is given high privilege under the rules and can bring in special rules. Hence it is that the Steering Committee's program or policy must often be translated into action by one of these special rules.

THE CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST

MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THIS NUMBER

This number of THE CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST is entirely devoted to a parallel discussion of the political parties and their campaign issues.

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